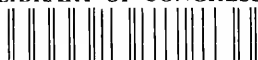


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ADDRESS

OF THE

COMMITTEE

OF THE LATE

Grafton County Convention,

TO THE

Independent Electors

OF THE

COUNTY OF GRAFTON,

AND

STATE OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

CONCORD :

PRINTED BY GEORGE HOUGH.

October, 1812.

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Grafton County Convention.

AGREEABLY to previous notification, about three thousand of the friends of peace and good order, assembled at Orford October 15, 1812. It is presumed that no former occasion has called forth so large, and so respectable a collection of friends of peace, in the State of New-Hampshire. The assembly being so numerous that they could not be accommodated in the Meeting House, a Stage was erected on the Common. On motion of the Hon. Benjamin J. Gilbert, of Hanover, Col. William Webster, of Plymouth, was appointed Chairman, and Ephraim Kingsbury, Esq. of Haverhill, Secretary. The throne of Grace was then addressed in an appropriate and impressive manner, by the Rev. Sylvester Dana, of Orford. The Hon. Moses P. Payson, explained the objects of the meeting, in a handsome and comprehensive manner. The assembly was then addressed by John Nelson, Esq. and Col. Amos A. Brewster, in a candid, spirited, and able manner. On motion that the Chairman should nominate a Committee of ten, to draft an address to the Citizens of Grafton County, the following Gentlemen were nominated and appointed:

Benjamin J. Gilbert, of Hanover,
A. G. Britton, of Orford,
John Rogers, of Plymouth,
Jabez H. Weld, of Plymouth,
Daniel Blaisdell, of Canaan,
Joseph Bell, of Haverhill,
David Smith, of Bath,
John Nelson, of Haverhill,
Thomas Waterman, of Lebanon,
Mills Olcott, of Hanover.

On motion that a Committee of ten, be nominated by the Chairman to draft and report Resolutions, expressing the sense of the meeting, the following Gentlemen were nominated and appointed:

William H. Woodward, of Hanover,
Phinehas Walker, of Plymouth,
Enoch Colby, of Thornton,
Amos A. Brewster, of Hanover,
John Fairfield, of Lyme,

Samuel Morey, of Orford,
 Moor Russell, of Plymouth,
 Moses P. Payson, of Bath,
 Ephraim Kingsbury, of Haverhill,
 Samuel Holmes, of Campton.

The Convention adjourned for one hour. On meeting after adjournment, the Hon. Benjamin J. Gilbert, for the Committee who were appointed to prepare an address, reported the following, which was read by Joseph Bell, Esq. and was unanimously adopted.

ADDRESS.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

THE periodical accountability of rulers to their Constituents is the distinguishing characteristic of our Republican Government—It is the “REDEEMING PRINCIPLE” which the wisdom of our Constitution has provided to remove, when necessary from the Councils of the nation, corrupt or incompetent Rulers—to counteract the effects of rash, precipitate, and impolitic measures—to check the presumptuous and unhallowed aspirings of unprincipled ambition, and to preserve and perpetuate to the American people an administration of the General Government all the unadulterated principles of its original establishment.

But this constitutional privilege, fellow-citizens, to be as inestimable in its practical operation, as it is unrivalled in theoretical excellence, must be exercised with *candor and intelligence*, and maintained in its original purity with *firmness and independence*. Let it but once become the *passive* instrument of unprincipled ambition, or the *prostituted* organ of infuriated faction, and the boasted excellence of our civil institutions, is nothing but a name—our liberties are gone—our Government is dissolved.

It requires no spirit of prophecy to predict, that if our Government is destined to add one more to the long listed obituary of Republics, the *corruption and abuse* of our electoral rights will be the instrument of its destruction—Our liberties will only be commensurate with *the freedom and purity* of our elections. Our dangers are always the greatest when our watchfulness is the least. From the perversion of our rights we fondly imagine we have nothing to fear. But the tempter is not the less dangerous by appearing in the garb of an angel of light, nor the dangers to American liberty the less to be dreaded by arising from its natural guardians and protectors.

It is an unquestionable truth that a great and enlightened people can never be enslaved without their own consent : but the uniform language of history is, that the liberties and independence of nations have, in all ages, been sacrificed to the gratification and advancement of ambitious and unprincipled favorites. The people have first been flattered, then commanded ;—they have first been corrupted—*slavery* is then their *natural state*.

But a single instance, fellow-citizens, within the recollection of us all, still speaks to every intelligent friend to his country in a language which cannot be misunderstood, and ought not to be disregarded—Republican France is a name still dear to the sympathies and recollections of many—Republican France, a land that but lately rung with the songs of liberty, and resounded from the mouths of infatuated millions, with the shouts of equality, is now bending beneath the insupportable weight of a Military Despotism. The songs of liberty are hushed forever—the shouts of equality are drowned and lost amid the clangor of arms, the cries of suffering innocence, and the resistless mandates of a ferocious and inexorable Tyrant—And yet, fellow-citizens, it was a *prostitution* of the sacred rights of Freemen—it was a *corruption* of the inestimable privilege on which our Republic is founded—it was a *mere mockery* of the elective franchise that placed the Corsican Usurper on the throne of the Bourbons.

In the formation of a Government on the unalterable basis of an original equality of rights and of persons, it was easy to foresee that a long continued and uninterrupted exercise of power would *sometimes* corrupt the *best*, and that the low acts of cunning, duplicity, and intrigue would *sometimes* elevate, to dignified and responsible stations, the *worst* men in society. It was, therefore, wisely left to the *returning good sense of the people*, when thus misled and abused ; and when the errors in policy, and the aberrations in practice of their Rulers threatened the prostration of their dearest rights and the annihilation of their most important interests, to apply an efficient and salutary corrective to the evil, in the free, unbiassed, and intelligent exercise of their electoral privileges.

The important responsibility, fellow-citizens, has devolved upon us, in common with our fellow electors throughout the Union, of applying this sovereign and salutary remedy to the existing evils, the wounded honor, and injured interests of our common country.

The periodical return of our Representative and Presidential election, in the present embarrassed situation of our national affairs, presents the most important question which has been submitted to our consideration and decision since

the adoption of the Federal Constitution. We are called upon to offer, by our suffrages, the seal of approbation ; or to stamp reprobation and reproach upon the measures adopted and the policy pursued by the present administration of our national Government. This is an event peculiarly calculated to awaken, in the minds of freemen, serious recollections of *the past*, and anxious anticipations for *the future*. Under such circumstances, a review of the policy of our national administration, conducted in the spirit of candor and conciliation, and not for the purpose of recrimination and abuse, is indispensable to the formation of rational and consistent opinions of public men and public measures. While a disastrous war is raging *without*, and domestic dissensions *within*—while the armies of our enemy are spreading devastation on our borders, and her fleets sweeping our commerce from the ocean ; it is no time to awaken the remembrance of remediless wrongs, or to inflame the animosities and sharpen the bickerings of exasperated parties. The calamities which threaten our country are great ; the spirit of unanimity, moderation, and forbearance, should be great in proportion.

But while we thus bury in oblivion all subjects of minor complaints, and consider them as merged in the overwhelming calamities which, in a country like ours, must ever be the concomitants of war ; we can never cease, but with the removal of the cause, to raise the voice of *loud and deep* remonstrance against that *imbecility* and *partiality* in our councils, which have already disgraced us *abroad*, and that *rashness*, *improvidence*, and *precipitancy* which now threaten the indiscriminate ruin of all classes of our citizens *at home*. We can never cease to deprecate that unfortunate system of measures which has, to such an alarming and unprecedented degree, demoralized our citizens—frittered down our national resources—paralyzed our national spirit of enterprise—destroyed our once flourishing commerce—annihilated our fisheries—impaired the energies and the resources of the mechanic and the agriculturist ; and, in the commencement of our hopes, checked the swelling buds and opening blossoms of American prosperity.

But the voice of suffering and remonstrance alone will never replace our country on the proud eminence she has abandoned, nor restore to our citizens that unexampled prosperity which has been so wantonly sacrificed. We must raise our voices and our exertions together—We must fully examine the causes of our complaint—We must then fearlessly apply the Constitutional remedy. We must cherish the virtues, encourage the spirit, and imitate the examples of the early ancestors of our liberties. Had the Patriots of our

Revolution but tamely yielded to the unwarrantable claims and quietly submitted to the arbitrary impositions of an infatuated ministry ; we should now have been subject to the grasp of foreign domination, and looking up, with mingled anxiety and gratitude, to the *pampered minions of Royalty*, for the tardy distribution of the miserable fragments of our Rights, to be dispersed as the caprice of power might dictate, or our own servility merit.

But thanks to the enlightened and discriminating minds of the Sages, and the invincible courage, constancy, and perseverance of the Heroes of our Revolution, our better destiny prevailed. They saw, in the helpless youngling of oppression, the future claws of the full grown monster. While tyranny was but yet in the blossom—fair, attractive, and alluring, they foresaw the very gall and bitterness of its ripened fruit. They no sooner saw this, than they wisely determined to resist the FIRST encroachments of arbitrary power, and “ to pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honors” in defence of the rights and liberties of their Country. *They did resist* and *National Independence*, and the *Federal Constitution*, are the glorious results of their firmness and perseverance.

The history of our Country, during the short but eventful period since the declaration of our independence, has displayed all the varieties of fortune which have ever distinguished the most favored and the most unfortunate of nations. We behold it, at one time, illuminated with the brightest lights of prosperity ; and again shrouded in the darkest hues of adversity. The different political systems for the administration of our national Government which have been matured, approved, and supported by the partisans of the different political schools which have divided the opinions of our country, have apparently been the instruments in the production of these opposite and successive effects.

Washington, the Father of his Country, stands deservedly at the head of the first system---Jefferson, the Author of our divisions, and the idol of his party, as deservedly stands at the head of the second. The system of Washington was founded on *the actual Constitution* of human nature, the existing constitutions of civil societies---it was a system of *adequate defence*, addressed to the *fears* and the *interests* of nations. The system of Jefferson was *professedly* founded on what human nature *should be*---it was a *speculative* system of *philosophical* moderation, addressed to an *assumed* and *imaginary* sense of *national justice* and *forbearance*. The one was calculated to defend our rights by *force*---the other by *remonstrance*---The Soldier and Statesman of Mont Vernon presented the olive branch in one hand, and the sword of defence in the other. The Philosopher of Monticello, with one hand brandished his quill, and with the other unfurled his parchment.

Systems so radically different in their principles, must naturally be expected to have produced as radical a difference in their effects. *Preparation and impartiality* characterized the first---*unprecedented prosperity* was the natural results. *Imbecility and National Favoritism* characterized the second---*individual misery and national degradation* are the melancholy consequences.

Contrast for a moment, fellow-citizens the commencement with the termination of the Federal administration. When our national Government first went into operation the prospects of our Country were dark, gloomy, and threatening---The spirit of disorganization had already gone abroad, infused its poison into all ranks and descriptions of our citizens, and manifested strong indications of the impending approach of some great national convulsion. Revolutionary licentiousness had taken place of the settled habits and well defined notions of the early asserters of liberty, and the principles of moral right and civil responsibility had to an alarming and unprecedented degree lost their influence over society. The standard of insurrection had been openly unfurled in opposition to all settled law, and all regulated Government -- public confidence, private credit and the revenues of the country were reduced to the lowest ebb. The nerveless and palsied arms of Government was incompetent to the enforcement of its own requisitions, and the disjointed and ruinous fabric of the Confederation was tottering to its fall and tumbling into ruins.

At such a time and under such circumstances Washington was a second time entrusted with the preservation of his Country. The changes almost instantaneously produced, marked the wisdom of the Statesman and the magnanimity of the Soldier. Order arose out of the political chaos---regularity, consistency, and energy were introduced into every department of the Government. Systems of laws were established---Systems of revenue organized, and the consequent re-establishment of public confidence and private credit cheered the droopings of dispondency, and encouraged rational expectation. The wild fervor of revolutionary frenzy was repressed or extinguished; faction for a time slumbered or slept. Agriculture flourished, the mechanic arts were encouraged, and the renovated spirit of commercial enterprise whitened every sea with American canvas and wafted into port the various productions of every clime.

Such were the consequences which naturally flowed from the principles adopted and the policy pursued by the Washington administration. The history of this period will ever be regarded as the minor of American Patriotism. The disponding mind even now rouses into activity, and the languid eye gleams and sparkles at the recollection of those literally golden days of departed American prosperity.

But the political system of Washington passed away, and with it the brilliant prospects, the proud hopes, and elevated

expectations of our rising country. The *peaceful* and *economical* system of Jefferson, succeeded.—It was ushered into notice with all the pomp of declamation, and all the parade of *profession*. The destinies of a great and populous country, abounding in wealth, and flourishing in commerce, happy at home, and respected abroad, were committed to the untried operation of a new and speculative system of measures. We were exultingly told, that a new and splendid era was about to commence—that domestic divisions, and party dissensions, should be done away—that “political intolerance, as despotic as wicked,” should be banished from our councils forever. We were taught to expect, that under so wise, so just, and so philosophic an administration, our rights would be respected, without the trouble of defence—that peace would universally prevail, and the “nations learn war no more.”—But, fellow citizens, *how* have these professions been fulfilled? *How* have these expectations been realized?—Let the *universal proscription* of all the friends to the former administrations, who preferred removal from office to the passive surrender of the rights of Freemen, the *liberty of Speech*, and the *independence of opinion*—Let our once flourishing country, now sinking under the pressure of commercial embarrassments, and the burdens, the privations and the calamities of a war, from whose premature commencement we had nothing to hope—from whose weak and improvident prosecution we have nothing to gain, declare to the American people, *how* these professions were fulfilled, and how these expectations have been realized.

The system of Jefferson was adopted to the *temporary feelings*, not the *permanent interests* of the people. The tone of our national feelings and sentiments, was artfully let down to accommodate measures which *nothing* but the *consistency of party* had made necessary, and to suit the speculative schemes of a visionary theorist; preparations for defence were systematically abandoned, as if human nature had undergone a miraculous change, and a political millenium already commenced. This was a *radical error* in policy—while nations were literally rising up against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, it was apparent to all men of *practical views*, and *unprejudiced minds*, that a nation *without defence*, would soon be a nation *without rights*. But the experiment has already been made, and experience has already given judgment against it; and now proclaims in language which cannot be misunderstood, that if unprepared to repel aggressions on our rights, and effectually to punish the aggressors, we have *nothing* to expect from the pretended justice, moderation and forbearance of nations, but repetitions of insult and reiterations of injury.

But this radical error in policy, fellow citizens, has eventually been productive of the most disastrous consequences to our Country. From this culpable neglect of the fundamental maxim of national policy, "in peace, prepare for war," has resulted, that *wavering, inefficient and contradictory* system of measures, which have reduced our country from a state of unexampled prosperity, to national wretchedness and degradation. The want of *adequate preparation* for defence, combined with the *local interests, attachments, and the foreign antipathies and partialities* of our Rulers, has led to the adoption of a system of commercial restrictions, a species of commercial warfare, as abhorrent to the feelings, as it is destructive to the interests of the American people. These causes, combined, have led to the adoption of the *Continental System of France*; they have chained our country to the car of the Conqueror of Europe; they have plunged us into a war, avowedly for conquest, in which there is no assignable object that war can effect, which *Patriotism* can approve.---It is a fact, fellow citizens, as disgraceful to the American name, as it is unnerving to the energies, and appalling to the spirit of American Patriotism that we are now *virtually* fighting the Battles of France. The disgrace, and the disasters of the *vanquished* may be ours; but the advantages of victory will be exclusively hers. The cause of the only Republic on earth, is identified *in fact*, if not *in form*, with the cause of the Destroyer of all the Republics of Europe. On what other system, fellow citizens, can we account for the whole system of our Commercial Restrictions, our Non-Importations, Non-Intercourse and Embargoes, *so injurious to ourselves* and so exactly corresponding, *in time and principle*, with the views and interests of France? How *else* shall we account, for our *premature* declaration of war, with comparatively *no* preparations for attack or defence, by sea or by land? How *else* shall we account for an intercourse apparently so friendly between the Cabinets of the two Countries, after we had once been made the dupes of the most infamous political manœuvre which ever disgraced the diplomatic intercourse of civilized nations? But, especially, fellow-citizens, how *else* shall we account for the rejection of the *ARMISTICE, the precursor of peace*, and the continuance of the horrors and the calamities of war, after the *notorious removal of its principal cause*, in the revocation of the British Orders in Council?

These, and similar facts, fellow-citizens, so consistent with the interests of FRANCE, and so *inconsistent* with any other interest, produce in our minds a conviction as strong, "as if a voice from Heaven should declare it---that there is a *secret understanding*---that there is a *fatal foreign influence* operating in our Councils, which, without the timely efforts of

*the people to counteract it by a change of Rulers, will lay our Freedom in the dust."**

Let our exertions then, fellow-citizens, correspond with our belief. Let our efforts to counteract "*this fatal foreign influence*" be prompt, be vigorous, be unanimous. Let party dissensions and animosities be sacrificed on the altar of the public Good. Let us not be prevented by sinister views and local or temporary interests, from making one great and strenuous effort to save our common country from the inextricable abyss before us. Let us, by a firm, united, and intelligent exercise of our electoral rights, restore, once more, to the Councils of the Nation that well regulated and considerate *energy, wisdom, and impartiality* which distinguished the administration of the Father of his Country.

WILLIAM WEBSTER, *Chairman.*

EPHRAIM KINGSBURY, *Secretary.*

* *Speech of the Hon. George Sullivan, to the Rockingham Convention.*

Resolutions.

William H. Woodward, Esq. for the Committee to prepare Resolutions, reported the following, which were read by the Secretary, and unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That we claim the right to assemble in an *orderly* and *peaceable* manner to consult on the common good as guaranteed by the Constitution of this State, and recognized by the Constitution of the United States ; and we *solemnly protest* against the recent despotic dogmas of those who denounce the exercise of this right.

Resolved, That we consider the Constitution of the United States, which was the Ark of our political Salvation, as wisely calculated, when *well* administered, to advance the prosperity of our country, and consequently to promote individual happiness ; and that we had fondly anticipated a course of salutary measures, an uninterrupted scene of prosperity ; *but* it is with deep regret we so soon witness a reverse which threatens the destruction of our *fairest* hopes.

Resolved, That the common good of a people essentially depends on the honest and faithful administration of the government, and civil institutions ordained by *themselves* for the preservation of all their rights ; and we are decidedly of opinion that this common good has been much impaired by the *present* and *late* administration of our Government, in the adoption of many measures of anti-republican tendency—Vast accessions have been made to our territory at an ENORMOUS expense. New States are created without the limits of the original compact, and united to the body ;—our

frontiers, which were at *first* extensive, are *now* immense, and not *defensible*. A NAVY, which had begun to be respected and promised great advantages, is nearly annihilated. Commerce and agriculture prostrated, an overflowing treasury reduced to *beggary*. The sacred right of debate in our national councils grossly violated under the baneful influences of a hateful foreign *despot* ; the energies of the nation have been impaired by futile systems of coercion, and its spirit and resources are wasted by ill-timed and imbecile efforts to prosecute a war for the conquest of a *petty colony* of Great-Britain—a war which we consider *premature, impolitic, inexpedient, unjust, and ruinous* to our Country—a war of conquest, inconsistent with the genius of our Government, for the prosecution of which, attempts are made to detach the Militia of the respective States on expeditions never contemplated by the framers of our National compact.

Resolved, That we are alarmed that our delegates in Congress, forgetting their constitutional disqualifications, have, in the face of the people, assumed to be electors of President and Vice-President of the United States.

Resolved, That we deeply lament that the armistice which was entered into between General Dearborn and the Governor of Lower Canada, was not ratified by President Madison ; his rejection of which, in our view, indicating not merely an indisposition for *peace with*, but a settled and inveterate *hostility* against *Great-Britain*, and portending what we still more dread, a *subservience* to the interests of the grand Destroyer of Liberty.

Resolved, That we are sincere friends of the union of these States, and cordially denounce every measure and deprecate every event which tends in

the *smallest* degree to weaken the bond of this union.

Resolved, That it is the duty of every *patriot* to search into the mysteries which envelope our beloved Country, and to inquire into the causes of the calamities which every portion of our land already suffers, and those still *more dreadful* which threaten ; and with the ardor of republican freemen, strive by all *just* means, to stay their further progress.

Resolved, That judging of the qualifications of men by their measures, we are compelled to say, that the present rulers of our Country have forfeited the confidence reposed in them by the people, and are *no longer* entitled to their support.

Resolved, That after being deprived of many privileges, which constituted a part of our birth-right, and threatened with the destruction of the *residue*, it is our *indispensable duty* to adopt all honest and honorable measures to replenish our national councils with men of *integrity*, *talents* and *information*, and such as shall be entitled to the blessing of peace-makers.

Resolved, That in times of peril, like the present, when dangers are thickening around us, and destruction stares us in the face, it is the duty of every Citizen to abandon all minor points of political altercations, and we therefore highly approve the nomination of the *Hon. John Goddard*, in the Electoral Ticket of our *friends*, the *friends of peace* and *commerce* in this State.

Resolved, That reposing great confidence in the *talents*, *integrity*, and *patriotism* of the *Hon. John Goddard*, *Oliver Peabody*, *Samuel Hale*, *Nathan Taylor*, *Timothy Farrar*, *Benjamin West*, *Caleb Ellis*, & *Jonathan Franklin*, who have been nomina-

ted by our fellow citizens in other parts of the State, we agree by every *fair* and *honorable* measure in our power, to promote their election as electors of President and Vice President of the United States ; and have like confidence in the qualification, of Daniel Webster, Bradbury Cilley, William Hale, Samuel Smith, Roger Vose, and Jeduthun Wilcox, Esqrs. we engage in like manner, to support their election as Representatives to Congress : And recommend these tickets to the Citizens of this County.

William Webster, *Chairman*.

Attest, E. Kingsbury, *Secretary*.

On motion of Hon. B. J. Gilbert, it was voted, that the proceedings of this meeting, together with the Address and Resolutions, be copied for publication ; and that they be signed by the Chairman and countersigned by the Secretary.

The exercises were then closed with prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Webster, of Campton.

WERT BOOKBINDING

JAN 1989

Grantville, PA

